

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON IMMEDIATE

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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WELLINGTON FOR DEPSEC RUSH

VIENNA AND GENEVA FOR MBFR AND CSCE

INFO FOR PAOS

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1. HIGHLIGHTS. FRIDAY PAPERS FRONTPAGED SHAH PLEDGES

BILLION DOLLARS FOR POOR LANDS; INSIDE STOESEL ARRIVES IN MOSCOW, THURSDAY LATIMES INSIDE HAD COOK GENEVA, SOLZHENITSYN'S EXILE LINKED TO GENEVA TALKS.

1A. SATURDAY SUNDAY HEADLINES MOSTLY DOMESTIC; SUNDAY NYTIMES AND WASHSTAR HAD MOSCOW WREN, RUSSIA ADDING TO ITS ARMS. MONDAY NYTIMES FEATURES KISSINGER LEAVES FOR MID-EAST; INSIDE PAPERS HAVE ENERGY GROUP MEETS TODAY IN WASHINGTON ON PROCEDURAL MATTERS.

2. CSCE. THURSDAY LATIMES COOK REPORTED FROM GENEVA FACT THAT SOLZHENITSYN IS IN EXILE INSTEAD OF PRISON IS DUE AT LEAST IN PART TO FACT CSCE IS LUMBERING ALONG, ALMOST IN DIPLOMATIC OBLIVION IN GENEVA, ONE WESTERN DELEGATE SAYING HE DOUBTED CSCE COULD HAVE LASTED ANOTHER TWO WEEKS IF RUSSIANS HAD SHIPPED SOLZHENITSYN BACK TO SIBERIA. COOK SEES PLENTY OF CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE TO REINFORCE CERTAINLY AMONG WESTERN DELEGATES THAT THERE IS DIRECT CONNEC-

TION BETWEEN CSCE AND RUSSIAN'S EXILE, CITING BREZHNEV'S PERSONAL LETTERS TWO WEEKS AGO TO NIXON BRANDT POMPIDOU IN WHICH HE EXPRESSED HOPE CSCE PROGRESS COULD BE SPEEDED, ALSO VISITS BY GROMYKO AND CONVERSATIONS BY RUSS DIPLOMATS IN MOST WESTERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS, COOK ADDING SOLZHENITSYN'S IMPRISONMENT WOULD HAVE DEFEATED THIS EFFORT. COOK REPORTED THAT AFTER FIVE MONTHS OF GENERALIZED COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS PANELS ARE NOW GETTING DOWN TO SUBSTANTIVE TEXT NEGOTIATIONS AND COMMART DELEGATES AGREED TO RUSSIAN PROPOSAL OF THREE SEPARATE PREAMBLES ONE FOR EACH MAIN SECTION OF FINAL ACT. KREMLIN WANTS ENORMOUS SIGNING CEREMONY IN HELSINKI, SAID COOK, BUT BRITISH FRENCH OPPOSE, BEING OPENLY WORRIED THAT TEMPTATION TO GET OUT OF WASHINGTON WILL BE TOO MUCH FOR PRESIDENT NIXON.

3. RUSSIAN DEFENSES. SUNDAY NYTIMES WREN MOSCOW REPORTED GRECHKO ASSERTED RUSSIA'S INTENTION TO KEEP STRENGTHENING ITS ARMED FORCES, INCLUDING STRATEGIC WEAPONS, DESPITE RESUMPTION OF SALT. IN HIS ORDER MARKING ARMED FORCES DAY, GRECHKO CHARGED WEST WITH BUILDING UP ARMS RACE AND UNCLASSIFIED

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PREPARING MILITARY ADVENTURES, THUS FORCING RUSSIA TO TIRELESSLY STRENGTHEN COMBAT CAPACITY OF ARMED FORCES; BUT THIS YEAR'S TOUGHER LANGUAGE IS NOT TAKEN BY WESTERN ANALYSTS TO MEAN ANY FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE WITH BREZHNEV. IN A PRAVDA ARTICLE, SAID WREN, GRECHKO SAID THAT DESPITE INCREASED ARMS BUDGETS OF AGGRESSIVE ATLANTIC BLOCK COUNTRIES, OUR ARMY AND NAVY HAVE EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO ROUT ANY AGGRESSOR. WASHSTAR USED HALF OF NYTIMES STORY.

4. COMMENT. FRIDAY WASHPOST EDITORIAL HOLDS THAT IN YEARS SINCE SALT I SOVIET UNION AND US HAVE FAILED TO ESTABLISH A DEGREE OF COMMUNICATION SUFFICIENT TO SAVE EITHER NATION FROM ITS OWN WORST ANXIETIES OVER THE INTENTIONS OF THE OTHER. THE CHANGE IN THE SOVIET ARSENAL IN RELATION TO THAT OF THE US WOULD SEEM TO MANDATE SOME ALTERATION AND MODERNIZATION OF OUR FORCES, ACCORDING TO THE EDITOR, BUT WE SHOULD COUNTERNANCE ONLY THOSE CHANGES IN DOCTRINE OR DEVELOPMENT THAT REINFORCE OUR CAPACITY TO DETER RATHER THAN TO PROVOKE OR AGRESS. BOTH AT SALT AND IN CONGRESS SAYS POST, THE EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO DEMONSTRATE TO RUSSIANS THAT THEIR RETALIATORY CAPACITY IS SECURE AND THAT EFFORT IN ANY OTHER DIRECTION IS WORTHLESS.

4A. THURSDAY ST LOUIS POST-DISPATCH COMMENTED IF SALT II NEGOTIATORS ARE TO ARRIVE AT SATISFACTORY ACCORD THIS YEAR, THE WEAPON-AS-BARGAINING-CHIP PHILOSOPHY MUST BE REPLACED BY MORE REALISTIC ONE. THE ONLY WAY TO REMOVE

THE CHIPS FROM THE TABLE IS FOR CONGRESS TO REFUSE TO FUND NEW ARMS PROJECTS UNLESS PENTAGON CAN MAKE DEFINITIVE CASE THAT THEY ARE ESSENTIAL FOR NATIONAL SECURITY.

4B. FRIDAY NYTIMES JOHN BAKER OF ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION AND ROBERT BERMAN COMMENT THAT WHILE SCHLESINGER SHOULD BE COMMENDED FOR HIS CANDOR CONCERNING US NUCLEAR STRATEGY, HE SHOULD ALSO BE AWARE OF THE PITFALLS ON THE PATH ON WHICH HE HAS EMBARKED THE NATION. WHILE COUNTERFORCE STRATEGY IS SUPERFICIALLY ATTRACTIVE, THERE ARE SHORTCOMINGS THAT NEGATE ITS VALUE, SUCH AS ENCOURAGING ARMS COMPETITION AND IMPEDING PROGRESS OF CERTAIN

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ARMS-CONTROL EFFORTS SUCH AS LIMITATIONS ON MIRVS AND A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN, AND THERE ARE REASONS FOR CONCERN SUCH AS THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE MILITARY SERVICES WILL PUSH EVEN FURTHER TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF MAJOR COUNTERFORCE CAPABILITY,

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